

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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FM AMEMBASSY OSLO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7479

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ATTN: DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY SPRINGSTEEN FOR BUELL

EO 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR NO

SUBJECT: TEXT OF NOBEL COMMITTEE TOAST AT AWARD DINNER

REF: OSLO 4437

FOLLOWING IS EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF FULL TEXT OF TOAST TO  
BE GIVEN BY NOBEL COMMITTEE MEMBER BERNT INGVALDSEN AT THE  
NOBEL AWARD DINNER IN OSLO DECEMBER 10:

YOUR EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

WE ARE GATHERED HERE TONIGHT TO HONOR HENRY KISSINGER WHO  
HAS BEEN AWARDED THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE FOR HIS EFFORTS TO  
ACHIEVE A CEASEFIRE IN VIETNAM.

SINCE ITS INCEPTION IN 1901, THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE HAS  
GAINED A PRESTIGE WHICH PERHAPS GIVES IT GREATER VALUE  
THAN ANY OTHER INTERNATIONAL AWARD FOR EFFORTS IN THE  
SERVICE OF PEACE.

PRECISELY BECAUSE THE PRIZE IS SO HIGHLY ESTEEMED, A  
SPECIAL INTEREST, AND WE MIGHT SAY SIGNIFICANCE, IS CON-  
NECTED WITH THE AWARD CEREMONY.

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ACCORDING TO THE STATUTES OF THE NOBEL COMMITTEE, THE

PRIZE SHALL BE AWARDED TO THE PERSON WHO IN THE LAST YEAR HAS MADE THE GREATEST CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE. OPINIONS WILL ALWAYS DIFFER ON WHAT BEST SERVES THE CAUSE OF PEACE. IN OUR TIME, OPINIONS TEND TO BE STRONGLY SUBJECTIVE, NOT ONLY BASED ON A PERSON'S INFORMATION BUT ALSO ON POLITICAL VIEWS AND SYMPATHIES. DIFFERENCES OF OPINION BECOME MORE APPARENT AND INTENSE THE MORE THE PERSONS ARE DEALING WITH CURRENT CONFLICTS, PROBLEMS AND GOALS. RELEVANT WORK FOR PEACE, THEREFORE, COVERS A WIDE SPECTRUM--FROM HUMANITARIAN WORK TO THE FIGHT AGAINST SUPPRESSION BY MEANS OF VIOLENT AND NON-VIOLENT MEANS, WORK FOR INTERNATIONAL LAW AND ORDER, THE REMOVAL OF CLASHES OF INTERESTS BETWEEN GROUPS OF PEOPLE AND BETWEEN STATES, TO INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND FINALLY THE LIMITATION AND SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES.

AN OPEN CONFLICT HAS AN INHERENT TENDENCY TO AGGRAVATE TENSIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES INVOLVED. THE SETTLEMENT OF AN OPEN CONFLICT BETWEEN TWO PARTIES, NEITHER OF WHOM HAVE COLLAPSED, IS AN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT AND, IN MOST CASES, IMPOSSIBLE TASK. THERE ARE, THEREFORE, ONLY A VERY FEW PERSONS WHO IN ADDITION TO THE MANY NECESSARY PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES, ALSO HAVE SUFFICIENT COURAGE, DETERMINATION OF PURPOSE AND PERSEVERANCE TO UNDERTAKE ASSIGNMENTS WHICH NECESSARILY WILL BE MISUNDERSTOOD, OPPOSED, AND MET WITH CRITICISM AND INGRATITUDE, EVEN IF THEY SHOULD SUCCEED IN THEIR EFFORTS.

THE DESIRE FOR CONTINUED WAR OR PEACE IS NEVER UNANIMOUS AMONG THE PARTIES INVOLVED. INSTEAD, IT DEPENDS ON THEIR RESPECTIVE EVALUATIONS OF THE POSSIBILITIES TO REALIZE THEIR INTENTIONS AND GOALS.

SINCE THE LAST WORLD WAR THERE HAS NOT BEEN PEACE IN VIETNAM, THE AREA OF THE WORST HUMAN TRAGEDIES AND ONE WHICH HAS REPRESENTED A LATENT THREAT TO WORLD PEACE. THE DECISIVE STEP TOWARD THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A PEACE, NAMELY A CEASEFIRE, WAS REACHED AFTER NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WERE PROLONGED AND COMPLICATED BECAUSE OF THE MANY OPPOSING INTERNATIONAL INTERESTS WHICH HAD BEEN DRAWN INTO THE CONFLICT.

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IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS HENRY KISSINGER AND LE DUC THO, NORTH VIETNAM'S CHIEF NEGOTIATOR, PLAYED A DECISIVE ROLE.

IT IS INTERESTING TO FOLLOW KISSINGER'S DEVELOPMENT THROUGH HIS DOCTOR'S DISSERTATION AND BOOKS ON INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS AND SECURITY POLICIES IN THE NUCLEAR AGE. THE VIEWS WHICH HE HAS ARRIVED AT BEAR WITNESS OF UNPREJUDICED THINKING, AN ANALYTICAL ABILITY TO LEARN FROM HISTORY AND

A CONSTRUCTIVE IMAGINATION.

I WILL ONLY CALL ATTENTION TO SOME OF HIS VIEWS: IT MAY BE DANGEROUS TO MAKE PEACE AND DETENTE GOALS PER SE, UNLESS ONE AT THE SAME TIME ACHIEVES ACCEPTANCE OF AND RESPECT FOR CERTAIN PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT.

IN ONE OF HIS BOOKS, HE MATCHES THE STATESMAN UP WITH THE PROPHET OR A POLITICAL BELIEF WITH A REVOLUTIONARY ATTITUDE TOWARD INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS: THE STATESMAN WILL ATTEMPT TO MASTER THE REALITIES, SURVIVAL BEING HIS PRIMARY GOAL. HE FEELS RESPONSIBILITY NOT ONLY TO THE BEST, BUT ALSO TO THE LEAST FAVORABLE ALTERNATIVE. HE WILL AVOID EXPERIMENTS, NOT BECAUSE HE DISAGREES ABOUT THE GOAL, SHOULD IT BE REACHED, BUT BECAUSE HE FEELS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CONSEQUENCES SHOULD THE EXPERIMENTS FAIL.

THE PROPHET, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS MORE PREOCCUPIED WITH CREATING REALITIES THAN WITH MASTERING THEM. HE IS LESS INTERESTED IN WHAT IS POSSIBLE THAN IN WHAT IS "RIGHT."... HE BELIEVES IN SOLUTIONS AND IS LESS CONCERNED WITH THE MEANS THAN THE END.... HE REJECTS A GRADUAL EVOLUTION AS A NECESSARY CONCESSION TO THE CIRCUMSTANCES. HE WILL STAKE EVERYTHING BECAUSE HIS VISION REPRESENTS THE REALITY TO HIM. THE PROPHET REPRESENTS AN ERA OF EXCITEMENT, GREAT UPHEAVALS, IMPORTANT RESULTS, BUT ALSO OF VIOLENT CATASTROPHES.

THERE CAN HARDLY BE ANY DOUBT THAT HENRY KISSINGER HAS SOUGHT TO IDENTIFY HIMSELF WITH THE STATESMAN, AND AS SUCH HE HAS MADE REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENTS AS AN INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATOR AND POLITICIAN.

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THE CONDUCT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH GRADUALLY LED TO A RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN THE MANY DIFFERENT PARTIES INVOLVED, AND WHICH IN THE END RESULTED IN A CEASEFIRE AND CONSEQUENTLY AN OPPORTUNITY FOR LASTING PEACE IN VIETNAM, WAS IN THE DEEPEST SENSE AN EFFORT IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

THE NEGOTIATORS DESERVE OUR DEEPEST GRATITUDE AND RESPECT, AND THEY HAVE GIVEN RENEWED HOPE TO ALL WHO BELIEVE THAT INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS CAN BE SOLVED THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS AND COOPERATION.

I ASK YOU, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, TO RAISE YOUR GLASS AND DRINK A TOAST TO HENRY KISSINGER IN GRATITUDE FOR HIS EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A CEASEFIRE IN VIETNAM, AND IN THE

HOPE THAT HE MAY SUCCEED IN HIS CONTINUED WORK FOR PEACE  
AND RELAXATION OF TENSIONS IN A TIME OF DANGEROUS  
CONFLICTS.

I TAKE THE LIBERTY OF ADDRESSING THIS TOAST TO YOUR  
EXCELLENCY, AMBASSADOR THOMAS BYRNE, THE REPRESENTATIVE  
OF THE PRIZE WINNER, HENRY KISSINGER.

DECLASSIFIED 22:00 GMT DECEMBER 10, 1973. BYRNE

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